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LGBTIA-related articles within British Psychological Society Journals: A review of the literature from 1941 - 2017

Adam Jowett

This article identifies the quantity and diversity of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Intersex and Asexual (LGBTIA) related journal articles published within the official British Psychological Society (BPS) journals. A systematic search of BPS journals was conducted using the BPS/Wiley search engine PsychSource. The search was conducted on 1 January 2018 and no timeframe was set for the search. Sixty-nine articles were identified across the BPS journals between 1941-2017. Until the end of the 1970s content focused almost exclusively on assessment and treatment of homosexuality (and, to a lesser extent, transsexuality) and was published primarily in the British Journal of Medical Psychology (n=20, 1941-2000). From 1980 onwards, the content of articles mainly focused on anti-gay prejudice and have been published primarily in the British Journal of Social Psychology (n=31, 1986-2017). The findings demonstrate a shift from a medical model of homosexuality prior to the 1980s, to focusing on homophobia as a social psychological problem. The review highlights a paucity of content relating to LGBTIA issues within the 11 official BPS journals. Within four BPS journals no relevant articles were identified. The range of LGBTIA topics published within these journals are also found to be extremely narrow.

Keywords: literature review; history of psychology; LGBT history; homosexuality; transgender

Introduction

In its *Declaration on Equality, Diversity and Inclusion* the British Psychological Society (BPS) declared a commitment to “actively promote a culture of equality, diversity and inclusion within our discipline” (BPS, 2017) and embed these principles into its organisational policies, practices and behaviours. A key purpose of the BPS is to promote, advance and disseminate psychological knowledge and one way they do this is by publishing

psychological journals. The Society publishes 11 flagship journals, currently in partnership with the publisher Wiley¹. The archives of these journals are searchable using the BPS/Wiley search engine 'PsychSource'. In addition to these journals, the BPS publishes a magazine (*The Psychologist*) and a wide range of Member Network (e.g. Division and Section) periodicals (although these are not searchable via PsychSource).

While issues of gender and sexual diversity have been well represented in BPS periodicals such as the *Psychology of Sexualities Review* (Jowett, 2018), it is not known how well such issues are represented within the BPS' flagship journals. The present article considers whether BPS' journals reflect diversity and inclusion in relation to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and asexual (LGBTIA) concerns and seeks to identify the quantity and variety of LGBTIA content in BPS journals both now and historically.

The ways in which LGBTIA people and issues are covered within psychology journals are likely to mirror the ways in which these topics have been understood within the discipline historically. It is well documented that during the 20th century there was a shift within the discipline from pathological to affirmative models of gender and sexual diversity including in British psychology specifically (Hubbard & Griffiths, 2019). In recent years the BPS has taken an LGBT affirmative stance in signing a Memorandum of Understanding on Conversion Therapy and has published affirmative guidelines for psychologists working with gender, sexuality and relationship diversity (BPS, 2019). However, despite the shift away from pathological models, Clarke *et al* (2010: 20) in the first British textbook on LGBTQ psychology suggested that "heteronormativity remains deeply embedded within the discipline of psychology". Such heteronormativity may operate in several ways.

Some psychologists have noted the tokenistic way in which LGBTQ issues tend to be covered in psychology textbooks, if they are covered at all (e.g. Kitzinger, 1996; Simoni, 2000; Barker, 2007). Others have identified the heterosexual bias within published psychological research. One early review was conducted by Morin (1977) in which articles listed in *Psychological Abstracts* under 'lesbianism', 'homosexuality' and 'male homosexuality' were surveyed between 1967 – 1974. The articles identified were also coded

¹ BPS members can access these journals for free and non-members can also access these journals via personal or institutional subscriptions or can pay-per-article.

by research question and it was found that 16 *per cent* related to assessment/diagnosis, 30 *per cent* related to causes, 27 *per cent* to adjustment, 20 *per cent* to ‘special topics’ and 8 *per cent* to homophobia. Writing less than a decade after homosexuality’s removal from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of mental disorders (DSM), Morin pointed out that “one might reasonably expect a delay before a changed perspective on lesbianism and male homosexuality begins to be seen in published research” (p. 631). Morin predicted that research on homophobia would become an increasingly popular area of psychological research in future. In another review of published psychological research from 1975 – 2001, Lee and Crawford (2007) found that research indexing LGB topics represented less than 1 *per cent* of all psychological research documented in the PsychInfo database (see also Lee and Crawford, 2012). Furthermore, lesbian and bisexual women were significantly less likely to be studied than gay and bisexual men. Thus, even when affirmative models prevail, LGBT people and topics may be marginalised within the discipline and some groups may be more marginalised than others. In this paper, I examine the inclusion of LGBTIA people and topics within BPS journals, identifying the focus of research that does include them and document changes over time.

Method

A systematic search of BPS journals was conducted using the BPS/Wiley search engine PsychSource (a search engine developed in partnership with Wiley who currently publishes BPS journals). Psychsource can also be used to identify psychological research in other Wiley publications but these were not included in the search. The BPS currently publishes 11 journals:

- *British Journal of Psychology*
- *British Journal of Clinical Psychology*
- *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*
- *British Journal of Educational Psychology*
- *British Journal of Health Psychology*
- *British Journal of Social Psychology*
- *Psychology and Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice*
- *British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology*
- *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*

- *Legal and Criminological Psychology*
- *Journal of Neuropsychology*

Some of these journals have changed their name since they were established. For example, what was the *Journal of Medical Psychology* now goes by the name of *Psychology and Psychotherapy*; and what began as the *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* was divided into two publications - the *British Journal of Clinical Psychology* and the *British Journal of Social Psychology* - in 1981.

Key terms used for the search included 'gay', 'lesbian', 'homosexual*', 'bisexual*', 'sexual orientation', 'transgender', 'transsexual*', 'intersex' and 'asexual*'. All articles which included the search terms in the title, abstract or keywords were retrieved. Any article in which one of the key terms appeared were included, provided they were using the term in the way intended here. The sample was not restricted to studies which included LGBTIA people as participants but included any article which referred to such subjects in order to include research on topics such as homophobia which may be primarily conducted with heterosexual samples. The search was conducted on 1 January 2018 and no timeframe was set for the search. Data were extracted according to author, year published, title and journal. A narrative review of the literature was then conducted to identify patterns within the content and shifts over the decades.

Results

A total of 71 articles were identified across the BPS journals between 1941-2017. Two articles were excluded; one was excluded due to the search term being used in a different sense than that intended here (Hogg & Turner, 1987)² while another was excluded as it was purely a 'reference library on clinical practice' (i.e. a list of publications) on gay and lesbian counselling (Bor, 1995). There were therefore 69 articles identified (see Appendix 1 for a full list of articles). These were found across 8 BPS journals over a period of 76 years. (See Table 1 for a full breakdown of number of articles by journal). Up until the end of the 1970s articles were largely published in (what was then called) the *British Journal of Medical*

² The term 'intersex' was used to mean between the sexes as opposed to a person born with variations in sexual characteristics (Hogg & Turner, 1987).

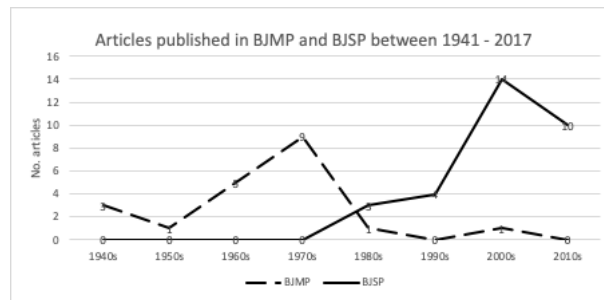
*Psychology (BJMP)*³ and from the 1980s onwards, articles were predominately published in the *British Journal of Social Psychology (BJSP)* (see Figure 1). These two journals alone accounted for 74 *per cent* of the articles identified. Articles primarily focused on (male) homosexuality with only three articles focused specifically on trans people, one article focused on intersex people and no articles on asexual people.

Table 1 - No. of articles identified in BPS journals with LGBTIA content

Journal	Years published	Number of articles (%)
British Journal of Social Psychology	1981 - present	31 (45%)
British Journal of Medical Psychology	1920 - present	20 (29%)
British Journal of Health Psychology	1996 - present	7 (10%)
British Journal of Social & Clinical Psychology	1962 - 1981	4 (6%)
Legal and Criminological Psychology	1996 - present	3 (4%)
British Journal of Psychology	1904 - present	2 (3%)
British Journal of Clinical Psychology	1981 - present	1 (1.5%)
British Journal of Developmental Psychology	1983 - present	1 (1.5%)
British Journal of Educational Psychology	1931 - present	0 (0%)
British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology	1965 – present	0 (0%)
Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology	1976 - present	0 (0%)
Journal of Neuropsychology	2007 – present	0 (0%)

³ I refer to its previous name here because this was its name during the time the retrieved articles were published.

Figure 1 Articles published in BJMP and BJSP over time³



1940s – 1950s: Homosexuality, neurosis and psychoanalysis

The few articles identified during the 1940s and 50s were all published in the *BJMP* and focused largely on the causes, assessment, diagnosis and treatment of homosexuality. The first article identified by de Rudolf (1941) was on psychiatric treatment of homosexuals⁴, although the emphasis was on the use of hormone-therapy to treat anxiety within ‘homosexual types’ rather than to treat homosexuality *per se*. At the end of the Second World War, Anderson (1945) published an article on the association of homosexuality with neurotic disorders within military personnel and several years later Slater and Slater (1947) claimed that the Selective Vocabulary Test could differentiate homosexual men from a ‘normal’ group (with homosexual men knowing more feminine words than heterosexual men). Meanwhile, the year after the publication of the Wolfenden Report, Rubinstein (1958) discussed the treatment of homosexuality using psychoanalysis. Rubinstein suggested that psychotherapy should in the first instance be offered to “the more obviously neurotic type of homosexual” (p. 14), that those between twenty to thirty years of age were most amenable to treatment while those with a ‘strong feminine identification’ were less likely to respond to psychotherapy.

1960s – 1970s: A shift to behaviourism and more progressive positions

Throughout the 1960s all the articles identified were again published in the *BJMP*, on (male) homosexuality and continued to focus on causes, assessment, diagnosis and treatment. For

⁴ The language adopted in this review is used to reflect the language used by the authors at various points in time.

example, one study examined whether responses to the Rorschach test could predict 'successful' treatment of homosexuality (Coates, 1962). Clarke (1965) reported being unable to replicate Slater and Slater's (1945) findings that the Selective Vocabulary Test could differentiate men on the basis of sexual orientation after controlling for age, IQ and social class. Clarke concluded that "[t]he present results do not support the theory that homosexual men are characterized by feminine interests, and thus it does not appear that the Slater Test will be of use in identifying homosexual males" (p. 340). This concern for methods of assessing homosexuality continued into the 1970s. For instance, two articles were published in the *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* regarding the Sexual Orientation Method (SOM) which was used at the time to assess patients' sexual orientation before, during and after aversion therapy treatment. Woodward *et al* (1973) published a paper comparing scores obtained by two approaches to scoring the SOM from a group of 'normals' and a group of homosexuals referred for treatment. Meanwhile Sambrooks and MacCulloch (1973) demonstrated that it was possible to administer the psychometric scale using a rudimentary computer-based system.

Psychoanalysis continued to be an influential perspective for understanding homosexuality in the articles published during the 60s and 70s (e.g. Fairbairn, 1964), however the influence of behaviourism was also notable in publications of this period. Several articles sought to combine the insights of psychoanalysis and behaviourism. Scipio (1968) and Fox and Scipio (1968) reported on the use of behaviour therapy to treat homosexuality. The authors drew on psychoanalytic explanations of male homosexuality as a phobic response to women, while adopting a conditioning approach to treat the supposed phobic reaction involving progressive desensitisation using images of naked women. The treatment was not successful in the case examined, with the patient at follow up feeling "that he was a confirmed homosexual, had no wish to be otherwise, but was no longer worried by this condition" (Fox & Scipio, 1968: p. 279). Scipio (1968) noted that while such an outcome was to be considered a failure from the behaviourist's perspective, it could be regarded a success from a client centred perspective. Similarly, Meyer and Levy (1970) reported behavioural treatment of 'a homosexual with compulsive rituals' (hand-washing). The authors speculated that there could be a psychoanalytic relationship between homosexuality and obsessive-compulsive behaviour ("as two aspects of regression to the anal-sadistic stage" p. 66), however as the patient did not wish to alter his sexual orientation, exposure therapy was used to treat the compulsive behaviour in isolation.

Articles that pathologised homosexuality and reported attempts at treatment continued to be published in the *BJMP* throughout the 1970s (e.g. Skene, 1973; Glasser, 1977; Limentani, 1977; Shoham et al, 1978). Several of these continued to adopt a psychoanalytic view on homosexuality. For instance, Limentani (1977) advocated for the combined use of psychiatric and psychoanalytic models and argued that homosexuality should be understood as a defensive solution to a variety of psychiatric problems. Limentani does, however, note a shift in the views of the scientific community and society at large, stating that his position was “likely to be considered controversial on scientific and other grounds, and it is also acknowledged that in the present social climate there is a growing tendency to regard the condition as ‘normal’” (p. 209).

In the early 1970s several papers were published on ‘transsexualism’ in the *BJMP*, also influenced heavily by psychoanalysis. Stoller (1970) claimed to identify several factors ‘essential’ to boys becoming transgender including a bisexual mother and a physically or psychologically absent father. A year later an article by Newman and Stoller (1971) claimed that there was a lack of evidence of oedipal conflict ‘in very feminine (transsexual) boys’ and that such femininity was established before the oedipal period. Later in the decade, an article published by Yardley (1976) applied modelling, behavioural rehearsal and video feedback to help a trans client acquire the necessary ‘feminine skills’ to live more successfully in their gender identity. Yardley accepted that the “the evidence supports the conclusion that transsexualism is most successfully treated by sex-change surgery” and “that patients express greatest satisfaction when their sex-role identification is accepted” (p. 329). Yardley’s affirmative therapy was reported as a success with the patient quoted as follows:

I have no regrets at all. For the first time in my life I can think of myself as all right. Before I felt bad, everything about me was wrong. Now I can accept that I don’t have to be perfect because I am the same outside as inside. (Yardley, 1976: 336)

The author noted the importance of home visits to ameliorate an antagonistic situation in the home and suggested that discussion with the mother and sister of the patient was particularly helpful, not only in facilitating positive reinforcement in the home environment, but also to help the patient’s family to cope with the situation and address their own emotional difficulties.

1980s – 1990s: Homophobia and HIV

While the vast majority of articles published in previous decades had been appeared in the *BJMP*, there was a dramatic shift in the decade to follow. From the 1980s onwards, the majority of articles identified were published in the *British Journal of Social Psychology (BJSP)*. Coinciding with this shift was a move away from psychoanalysis and behaviourism towards social cognitive and social identity perspectives. For instance, Walker and Antaki (1986) conducted a social psychological experiment which found that those who scored higher on an index of homophobia tended to confuse homosexuals with each other, and heterosexuals with each other, but did not confuse heterosexuals with homosexuals when recalling who said what in a group discussion. Another social psychology experiment by Gray, Russell and Blockley (1991) examined the effects upon helping behaviour of wearing a pro-gay t-shirt. Shoppers were approached either by a person wearing a t-shirt bearing a pro-gay slogan, or by a person wearing an unmarked t-shirt, asking for change for a pound coin. Help was less likely to be given to the ostensibly pro-gay person.

While in previous decades medical psychologists had published various theories about the causes of homosexuality, attention now turned to lay beliefs about the causes of homosexuality and negative attitudes in the form of homophobia. For example, Furnham and Taylor (1990) published a study on lay beliefs about the causes of homosexuality and lay beliefs about the efficacy of 'cures' for homosexuality. The authors reported that lay theories were moderately related to demographic variables such as sex, age and education but strongly related to sexual orientation and contact with homosexuals (with homosexuals and those who had greater contact with homosexuals being less willing to subscribe to 'naïve stereotypes').

Comparative research, beyond that which aimed to help diagnose or assess homosexuality, began to emerge in this period and a shift in the nomenclature from homosexual to 'lesbian' and 'gay' is also notable. For instance, Rusbult, Morrow and Johnson (1987) published a paper on self-esteem and problem-solving behaviour in close relationships which included lesbian, gay and heterosexual samples. The findings revealed only one significant difference based on sexual orientation (presented within a footnote of the article) which was that heterosexual men and women exhibited significantly stronger tendencies towards 'neglect' (defined as passively allowing one's relationship to deteriorate) than lesbians and gay men.

While the 1980s saw the rise of the HIV epidemic which disproportionately affected the gay community, only one article published in a BPS journal during this decade referred to the AIDS crisis. Ikkos *et al* (1987) published an article in *BJMP* on psychological disturbance in a clinic for sexually transmitted diseases. They found that gay and bisexual men on average scored significantly higher on General Hypochondriasis than heterosexual men, despite not manifesting higher rates of psychiatric morbidity. The authors interpreted their findings in light of the AIDS epidemic:

We find of interest that the study was conducted during the current AIDS epidemic and speculate that the high General Hypochondriasis scores among clients engaging in homosexual activities reflects legitimate fear rather than psychologically morbid concern (p. 125).

It was not until the establishment of the *British Journal of Health Psychology (BJHP)* in 1996 that studies relating specifically to gay men and HIV began to be published in BPS journals. For instance, Flowers *et al* (1997) published a qualitative study that aimed to improve understanding of unprotected anal sex amongst gay men in relationships. They note that HIV had shaped the meanings of sexual behaviour for their participants and that semen exchange was taken to be a sign of trust within gay men's relationships. Another study (Sheeran & Orbell, 1998), this time in *BJSP* sought to examine the extent to which behavioural intentions are associated with condom use among heterosexual and gay men using meta-analytical procedures. However, their literature search revealed just two longitudinal studies of intentions and condom use among gay men, precluding any meaningful comparison of gay versus heterosexual samples. Gray and Hedge (1999) also published a study in *BJHP* that examined the levels of distress in a UK sample of partners of gay men with HIV.

2000s – 2010s: the rise of experiential and critical research

An interest in the psychological correlates of homophobia continued into the 21st century. For instance, Haslam, Rothschild and Ernst (2002) examined the relationship between essentialist beliefs and homophobia; an avenue of research later extended by others in *BJSP* (Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty, 2014; Hodson & Skorska, 2014; Lytle et al, 2017; O'Connor, 2017). Comparative vignette studies that varied the sexual orientation of characters were also

published which revealed homophobic biases in areas such as attribution of blame in rape cases and whether GPs would break confidentiality by informing partners about HIV infections (Davies, Rogers & Whitelegg, 2009; Daly, Hevey & Regan, 2011).

Some published experiments on social psychological topics such as conformity and helping behaviours used pro-gay causes as ‘controversial’ social issues within their experimental stimuli (e.g. Hornsey et al, 2003; Gabriel, Banse & Hug, 2007; Lönnqvist et al., 2009). There was also an increasing number of studies published on intergroup contact and relations. For example, Cook *et al* (2012) found that after controlling for friendship, both gay and straight men – but not women – felt more behaviourally inhibited when interacting with someone who differed in sexual orientation (although higher levels of prior out-group contact did ease heterosexual males’ negative affect). Meanwhile, Fasoli, Maass and Carnaghi (2015) investigated the behavioural consequences of homophobic epithets, finding that discriminatory group labels have effects on people’s allocation of fictitious resources in intergroup contexts, increasing their tendency to favour their ingroup.

Gay men’s sexual health and HIV-related behaviours also continued to be a subject of psychological enquiry in the 2000s. For example, Flowers, Duncan and Knussen (2003) published a qualitative study in *BJHP* exploring contemporary understandings of the psychosocial costs and benefits associated with learning one’s HIV status within a sample of Scottish gay men. Meanwhile, Crossley (2004) published a controversial qualitative study in *BJSP* exploring why some gay men engage in unsafe sexual practices (‘barebacking’) despite the widely publicised risks of HIV infection. Two commentaries were subsequently published in the journal criticising Crossley’s article. Flowers and Langdridge (2007) criticised it for producing a pathological narrative that constructed gay men as willfully deviant, while the Lesbian and Gay Psychology Section⁵ (Barker *et al.*, 2007) argued that the article promoted stereotypes of gay men as hedonistic, promiscuous and morally irresponsible (see Crossley, 2007 for a response to these criticisms).

One of the key developments within these journals in the early 2000s was the increasing number of qualitative studies published. For example, Alderson, Madill and Balen (2004)

⁵ The Lesbian and Gay Psychology Section was established in 1998 and is now called the Psychology of Sexualities Section

explored the experience of women with androgen insensitivity syndrome (AIS) in *BJHP*. There were also a number of published studies adopting critical social psychological perspectives, reflecting the turn to discourse within social psychology. For instance, Clarke, Kitinger and Potter (2004) published a discursive psychological analysis of lesbian and gay parents' accounts of homophobic bullying in *BJSP*, while Gough (2004) critically examined homophobic discourse in interviews with heterosexual men.

One emerging area of research represented in BPS journals within the 2010s relates to intersectionality and the experiences of sub-groups of gay men. For instance, Hajek (2016) explored gay male midlife specifically from a social identity perspective. Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010) published a qualitative study examining British Muslim gay men's (BMGM) identities. Meanwhile, Koc and Vignoles (2016) looked at the intersection of potentially conflicting identities among Turkish gay men.

Discussion

This review has found a paucity of LGBTIA content published within the BPS' flagship journals over the last eight decades. The journals that published the most LGBTIA-related articles were the *BJMP* between the 1940s-1970s and the *BJSP* from the 1980s onwards. This pattern represents a shift away from homosexuality being understood as pathological (within the field of medical psychology) to sexual minorities being understood as social groups that are discriminated against (within the field of social psychology). Topics represented prior to the 1980s focused largely on the causes, assessment and treatment of homosexuality, while research published from the 1980s onwards focused largely on homophobia followed by gay men's sexual health in the wake of the AIDS crisis. Morin's (1977) prediction that homophobia would become a focus for psychological research in future appear to be accurate, as far as BPS journals are concerned.

Although this shift appears to have been dramatic, it is notable that despite homosexuality being removed from the DSM in 1973, reported attempts at treatment continued to be published in the *BJMP* throughout the 1970s. This may, in part, be because the DSM was relied on less by British clinicians than in the US (King, 2003; Hubbard & Griffiths, 2019) or it may simply reflect the delay that Morin (1977) suggested one might reasonably expect for the change in perspective to be seen in published research.

The articles identified in the BPS journals were almost exclusively focused on homosexuality, and more specifically gay men. While lesbians were included in some of the samples alongside gay men, not a single study identified focused specifically on lesbian women or bisexuality. Only three articles were identified that focused on gender identity, and only one that focused on the topic of intersex. No articles were identified that focused on asexuality. So, while articles published in BPS journals tell a story of how male homosexuality has been considered by psychologists over time, it also tells a story of the marginalisation of lesbians, bisexuals, trans, intersex and asexual people within the discipline and within BPS journals more specifically.

Not a single article focusing on LGBTIA content was identified in four of the BPS journals (*British Journal of Educational Psychology*; *British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology*; *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*; *Journal of Neuropsychology*). One could speculate that LGBTIA psychology in these areas of the discipline may be underdeveloped, however LGBTIA-focused research in these areas of psychology have been published elsewhere (e.g. Hegarty, 2003; Ragins, Singh & Cornwell, 2007; Hong & Garbarino, 2012; Xu, Norton & Rahman, 2017).

It should be noted that these findings cannot be said to be representative of *British* psychology as BPS journals accept international contributors and British psychologists publish in other international journals⁶. Neither can the findings be said to be representative of LGBTIA psychology which may be published in other outlets. Furthermore, the findings are not strictly representative of content published by the BPS as there is a wealth of LGBTIA content published in Section publications such as the *Psychology of Sexualities Review* (formerly the *Lesbian & Gay Psychology Review*) and *Psychology of Women Section Review* (e.g. Clarke & Peel, 2005). There has also been LGBTIA-related content in the BPS' magazine *The Psychologist* (e.g. Kitzinger *et al.*, 1998; Kitzinger, 2004; Liao & Boyle, 2004; Barker, 2006; Jowett, 2017). However, what this review does reveal is that there has been a serious lack of representation of LGBTIA issues published in the BPS' flagship international journals.

⁶ A higher proportion of contributors to BPS journals may be British than one would find in other international journals.

There are a number of possible explanations for the lack of representation of LGBTIA issues within BPS journals. It could be that psychologists publishing on these topics are choosing to submit their work in more specialist psychology journals such as *Psychology & Sexuality* or interdisciplinary journals such as *Sexualities* and the *Journal of Homosexuality*. Alternatively, it could be that anti-LGBTIA biases operate within the editorial or review processes of these journals. Either way, a lack of research published on such topics within these journals may result in authors targeting alternative journals when considering the fit between their work and what has previously been published in BPS journals. The BPS and editors of BPS journals could take steps to address the lack of LGBTIA research in their publications. Firstly, editors could invite special issues of their journals on these topics to promote diversity and inclusion; secondly, editors should ensure that work relating to LGBTIA topics is reviewed by experts in these fields to avoid potential heterosexist or cisgenderist bias within the review process; and thirdly, the BPS could consider publishing a specialist journal in this area, equivalent to the American Psychological Association's journal *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity*.

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Appendix 1 – A full list of articles identified in order of year

Authors	Year	Title	Journal
de Rudolf	1941	The experimental effect of sex-hormone therapy upon anxiety in homosexual types	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Anderson	1945	On certain conscious and unconscious homosexual responses to warfare	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Slater & Slater	1947	A study in the assessment of homosexual traits	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Rubinstein	1958	Psychotherapeutic aspects of male homosexuality	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Coates	1962	Homosexuality and the Rorschach Test	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Fairbairn	1964	A note on the origin of male homosexuality	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Clarke	1965	The Slater Selective Vocabulary Test and Male Homosexuality	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Di Scipio	1968	Modified progressive desensitization and homosexuality	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Fox & Scipio	1968	An exploratory study in the treatment of homosexuality by combining principles from psychoanalytical theory and conditioning: theoretical and methodological considerations	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Meyer & Levy	1970	Behavioural treatment of a homosexual with compulsive rituals	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Stoller	1970	The transsexual boy: Mother's feminized phallus	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Newman & Stoller	1971	The oedipal situation in male transexualism	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Matthews, Bancroft & Slater	1972	The principal components of sexual preference	British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology
Skene	1973	Construct shift in the treatment of a case of homosexuality	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Woodward, McAllister, Harbison, Quinn & Graham	1973	A comparison of two scoring systems for the sexual orientation method	British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology

Sambrooks & MacCulloch	1973	A modification of the sexual orientation method and an automated technique for presentation and scoring	British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology
Cochrane	1974	Values as correlates of deviancy	British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology
Yardley	1976	Training in feminine skills in a male transsexual: a pre-operative procedure	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Limentani	1977	The differential diagnosis of homosexuality	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Glasser	1977	Homosexuality in adolescence	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Shoham, Weissbrod, Gruber & Stein	1978	Personality core dynamics and predisposition towards homosexuality	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Crawford	1979	Modification of deviant sexual behaviour: the need for a comprehensive approach	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Walker & Antaki	1986	Sexual orientation as a basis for categorization in recall	British Journal of Social Psychology
Birt & Dion	1987	Relative deprivation theory and responses to discrimination in a gay male and lesbian sample	British Journal of Social Psychology
Rusbult, Morrow & Johnson	1987	Self-esteem and problem-solving behaviour in close relationships	British Journal of Social Psychology
Ikkos, Fitzpatrick, Frost & Nazeer	1987	Psychological disturbance and illness behaviour in a clinic for sexually transmitted diseases	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Furnham & Taylor	1990	Lay theories of homosexuality: Aetiology, behaviours and 'cures'	British Journal of Social Psychology
Gray & Hedge	1999	Psychological distress and coping in the partners of gay men with HIV-related disease	British Journal of Health Psychology
Coyle	1993	A study of psychological well-being among gay men using the GHQ-30	British Journal of Clinical Psychology
Ng, Bell & Brooke	1993	Gaining turns and achieving high influence ranking in small group conversation	British Journal of Social Psychology
Flowers, Smith, Sheeran, & Beail	1997	Health and romance: Understanding unprotected sex in relationships between gay men	British Journal of Health Psychology
Sheeran & Orbell	1998	Do intentions predict condom use? Meta-analysis and examination of six moderator variables	British Journal of Social Psychology
Gray & Hedge	1999	Psychological distress and coping in the partners of gay men with HIV-related disease	British Journal of Health Psychology
Clarke & Pearson	2000	Personal constructs of male survivors of childhood sexual abuse receiving cognitive analytic therapy	British Journal of Medical Psychology
Rivers	2001	Retrospective reports of school bullying: Stability of recall and its implications for research	British Journal of Developmental Psychology
Haslam, Rothschild & Ernst	2002	Are essentialist beliefs associated with prejudice?	British Journal of Social Psychology
Flowers, Duncan & Knussen	2003	Re-appraising HIV testing: An exploration of the psychosocial costs and benefits associated with learning one's HIV status in a purposive sample of Scottish gay men	British Journal of Health Psychology
Hornsey, Majkut, Terry & McKimmie	2003	On being loud and proud: Non-conformity and counter-conformity to group norms	British Journal of Social Psychology
Clarke, Kitzinger & Potter	2004	'Kids are just cruel anyway': Lesbian and gay parents' talk about homophobic bullying	British Journal of Social Psychology

Crossley	2004	Making sense of 'barebacking': Gay men's narratives, unsafe sex and the 'resistance habitus'	British Journal of Social Psychology
Gough	2004	Psychoanalysis as a resource for understanding emotional ruptures in the text: The case of defensive masculinities	British Journal of Social Psychology
Alderson, Madill & Balen	2004	Fear of devaluation: Understanding the experience of intersexed women with androgen insensitivity syndrome	British Journal of Health Psychology
Klein, Snyder & Livingston	2004	Prejudice on the stage: Self-monitoring and the public expression of group attitudes	British Journal of Social Psychology
Summers	2007	Rhetorically self-sufficient arguments in Western Australian parliamentary debates on Lesbian and Gay Law Reform	British Journal of Social Psychology
Flowers & Langdridge	2007	Offending the other: Deconstructing narratives of deviance and pathology	British Journal of Social Psychology
Ute, Banse & Hug	2007	Predicting private and public helping behaviour by implicit attitudes and the motivation to control prejudiced reactions	British Journal of Social Psychology
Houwer & Bruycker	2007	The implicit association test outperforms the extrinsic affective Simon task as an implicit measure of inter-individual differences in attitudes	British Journal of Social Psychology
Lindsay, Whitefield & Carson	2007	An assessment for attitudes consistent with sexual offending for use with offenders with intellectual disabilities	Legal and Criminological Psychology
Nettle	2007	Empathizing and systemizing: What are they, and what do they contribute to our understanding of psychological sex differences?	British Journal of Psychology
Anderson	2007	What is a typical rape? Effects of victim and participant gender in female and male rape perception	British Journal of Social Psychology
Barker, Hagger-Johnson, Hegarty, Hutchison & Riggs	2007	Responses from the Lesbian & Gay Psychology Section to Crossley's Making Sense of Barebacking	British Journal of Social Psychology
Crossley	2007	Response to commentaries for 'Making sense of 'barebacking': Gay men's narratives, unsafe sex and 'resistance habitus'	British Journal of Social Psychology
Swanbon, Boyce & Greenberg	2008	Expressive writing reduces avoidance and somatic complaints in a community sample with constraints on expression	British Journal of Health Psychology
Lönnqvist, Walkowitz, Wichardt, Lindeman & Verkasalo	2009	The moderating effect of conformism values on the relations between other personal values, social norms, moral obligation, and single altruistic behaviours	British Journal of Social Psychology
Santtila, Mokros, Viljanen, Koivisto, Sandnabba, Zappalà & Osterheider	2009	Assessment of sexual interest using a choice reaction time task and priming: A feasibility study	Legal and Criminological Psychology
Davies, Rogers & Whitelegg	2009	Effects of victim gender, victim sexual orientation, victim response and respondent gender on judgements of blame in a hypothetical adolescent rape	Legal and Criminological Psychology
Jaspal & Cinnirella	2010	Coping with potentially incompatible identities: Accounts of religious, ethnic, and sexual identities from British Pakistani men who identify as Muslim and gay	British Journal of Social Psychology

Daly, Hevey & Regan	2011	The role of perceived risk in general practitioners' decisions to inform partners of HIV-infected patients	British Journal of Health Psychology
Cook, Calcagno, Arrow & Malle	2012	Friendship trumps ethnicity (but not sexual orientation): Comfort and discomfort in inter-group interactions	British Journal of Social Psychology
Simon & Grabow	2014	To be respected and to respect: The challenge of mutual respect in intergroup relations	British Journal of Social Psychology
Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty	2014	Maintaining distinctions under threat: Heterosexual men endorse the biological theory of sexuality when equality is the norm	British Journal of Social Psychology
Hodson & Skorska	2015	Tapping generalized essentialism to predict outgroup prejudices	British Journal of Social Psychology
Fasoli, Maass & Carnaghi	2015	Labelling and discrimination: Do homophobic epithets undermine fair distribution of resources?	British Journal of Social Psychology
Hajek	2016	Social and psychological creativity in gay male midlife identity management	British Journal of Social Psychology
Koc & Vignoles	2016	Global identification predicts gay–male identity integration and well-being among Turkish gay men	British Journal of Social Psychology
Lytle, Dyar, Levy & London	2017	Essentialist beliefs: Understanding contact with and attitudes towards lesbian and gay individuals	British Journal of Social Psychology
Nadarzynski, Smith, Richardson, Pollard & Llewellyn	2017	Perceptions of HPV and attitudes towards HPV vaccination amongst men who have sex with men: A qualitative analysis	British Journal of Health Psychology
Kossowska, Czernatowicz-Kukuczka & Sekerdej	2017	Many faces of dogmatism: Prejudice as a way of protecting certainty against value violators among dogmatic believers and atheists	British Journal of Psychology
O'Connor	2017	'Appeals to nature' in marriage equality debates: A content analysis of newspaper and social media discourse	British Journal of Social Psychology